1: Conzemius M-4, 5 (1921) 1932
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restricted to two subtribes thereof. Lehmann's classification of the Sumu tribes is likewise unsatisfactory. With the word "Sumu" we have a convenient name for the whole of these various dialects; its use will avoid the sad confusion met with still in the recent literature.

All the male Sumu either know Miskito or Spanish (or even both), depending upon their proximity to Miskito or Ladino settlements. A few of them know a little English. Hardly any of the women are, however, able to speak a foreign tongue. Through Miskito many corrupted English words have passed into their speech, while words borrowed from Spanish are not so common.

RELATIONSHIP OF THE MISKITO AND SUMU

The relationship of the Miskito with the Sumu has already been established from linguistic evidence (Lehmann, b: 714–720) and is reenforced by a survey of the ethnology of the two tribes. In this connection the following Sumu tradition, which points toward a common origin, will be interesting. It was recorded in 1904 at *Alami-kañban* (Rio Prinsapolca) from a Sumu named Frederick, by the Rev. G. R. Heath, a Moravian missionary, who resided many years on the Mosquito Coast. The latter communicated it to Lehmann, who published it in 1910 (b: 717–718). This version was later reproduced by Joyce (9–10) and by Alexander (185–186):

> At Kaunapa Hill, on the left bank of Rio Patuca, a few miles below the mouth of Rio Guampú, there is a rock bearing the sign of a human umbilical cord, and from which were born the tribal ancestors, a Great Father (*Mâi-sahana* "he who begot us")[3] and a Great Mother (*Itwana* or *Itoki*).[4] The Miskito and the Sumu are the descendants of these two primal ancestors.
>
> The first born were the Miskito who, disobedient and headstrong, as they are still to-day, cared little for the instructions of their ancestors and ran away to the seacoast.
>
> Then the Twahka or Tawahka were born, who consider themselves to this day the nobility among the Sumu.[5]
>
> Then followed the Yusku, who turned to evil ways; for that reason the other tribes made war upon them and almost exterminated them.
>
> The youngest, the Ulwa, being according to the Indian custom the favorites, profited to such an extent by the instructions of the tribal ancestors that they became especially skilled in the secrets of medicine and incantation and won the name of *Boa*, "enchanters."[6]

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[3] *Wan-bâikan* in the Miskito language.

[4] *Yapti-misri*, "Mother Scorpion," or *Yapti-tara*, "Great Mother," in the language of the Miskito.

[5] In Miskito the word *tawakya* means, however, "firstborn" and the parents thus call their first child.

[6] Lehmann (b: 717) says erroneously "Singers," and this error is copied by Joyce (10) and Alexander (185–186). According to my own informants the Boa were a subtribe of the Sumu differing from the Ulwa.

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Meanwhile the Twahka lived in the bush. They were wild and unkempt; their hair fell to their knees and they were full of lice. Finally the King of the Miskito sent for them and captured them; he had them washed and altogether regenerated them, so that he won their love and obtained their support.[1]

The language of the Miskito is closely allied to that of the Sumu, but it also contains many foreign words. It is very probable that the Miskito were originally a subtribe of the Sumu, and that they have become greatly modified in the course of the centuries through intermarriage with Negroes, Europeans, and other Indian tribes. Already in 1875, at a time when the relationship of the Miskito and Sumu languages was still unknown, Zúñiga Echenique (209) considered the Miskito as the offspring of fugitive slaves with Twahka women. Of the various Sumu subtribes still existing, the Bawihka is the one which linguistically and ethnographically presents the greatest affinity to the Miskito. The Bawihka formerly occupied the region immediately adjoining the coast line where the Miskito were met with by the first Europeans during the latter part of the seventeenth century. These facts induce me to believe that the hybrid tribe of the Miskito owes its origin to the intermarriage of the Bawihka with the Negroes escaped from the slave ship which was wrecked to the south of Cabo Gracias a Dios in 1641.

These Africans arrived on a Portuguese slave ship captained by Lourenço Gramalxo. The vessel had taken its black cargo on board while anchoring at the Guinea Coast, and then headed for Brazil. While on the high seas the Negroes revolted and made themselves masters of the ship. Not knowing anything about the art of navigation they allowed their vessel to be carried by the trade wind and ocean currents toward the coast of Central America, where it became wrecked on the Mosquito Keys, situated a little south of Cabo Gracias a Dios. The Negroes, who were able to reach the mainland, were captured by the Indians and reduced to slavery. They were, however, allowed to intermarry with their masters, and their children grew up as free members of the tribe. (Vide Peralta, b: 57–58, 121; Exquemelin, French ed.: II, 276–277; Edwards: V, 210; M. W.: 303, 307.)

Henderson (216) states, however, that these Africans proceeded from the Samba country in West Africa and that their vessel was Dutch. This is repeated by Roberts (153), Young (71–72) and De Kalb (27). The last named author further specifies that the vessel in question was wrecked in 1650 and that the Africans proceeded from Samba Island at the mouth of the Cassiri River in Senegambia. Bell (b: 3) likewise considered the vessel as Dutch and says that it was wrecked near Dakuna at the beginning of the eighteenth century. This date is, however, incorrect.

[1] The addition regarding the Miskito King is of recent date. No mention is made of the other Sumu subtribes, as the Panamaka, Bawihka, or Kukra.

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144 On the other hand, Santaella Melgarejo, in a report dated Guatemala, April 3, 1715 (Peralta, b: 78–80), states that the vessel in question was English and that it was wrecked in 1652 on the Cajones or Tiburones Keys to the east of Cabo Gracias a Dios. Fearing the Indians from the mainland, the Negroes settled at first at some keys south of the mentioned Cajones (undoubtedly the Mosquito Keys), and once friendly relations were established with the natives, they established themselves at Cabo Gracias a Dios.

Again it is said that the vessel in question was Spanish and bound for Cuba (Ravenead de Lussan: 437–438; Heath, a: 51).

Our source material pertaining to the origin of these slaves is therefore very meager and contradictory. According to a report of Fray Benito Garret y Arlové, dated November 30, 1711 (Peralta, b: 57), one of these Africans, an old man named Juan Ramón, who lived in Granada (Nicaragua) related that about one-third of his countrymen were captured by the Indians and reduced to slavery. The others took to the bush, whence they carried on a crude warfare with the aborigines, who were finally compelled to retreat toward the interior. About 1672 the number of these African slaves held by the Miskito was estimated at about 200; in those days they had already adopted the language and customs of the Indians (Exquemelin, Fr. ed.: II, 276–277).

As a result of the above, the Miskito from Cabo Gracias a Dios to Sandy Bay had already a large admixture of African blood toward the end of the seventeenth century. In the course of time refugee slaves from the English settlements and more recent immigration of Negroes and Mulattoes (chiefly from the West Indies) have contributed to the spreading of the African type, so that to-day Negro characteristics may be observed in almost every village. One of the subtribes of the Miskito, the *Tāwira* who live a short distance inland, from Sandy Bay to Wawa River, however, have refused to mingle their blood with that of the Africans. It is only in recent years that they have begun to intermarry with the mixed Miskito, especially with newcomers from Rio Coco, so that soon a Miskito of pure Indian blood will be a thing of the past.

197 We do not know to what extent these African slaves have influenced the original language of the Miskito, for such researches would entail exhaustive comparative studies with the surrounding Indian languages (Sumu, Paya, Rama), with the Creole dialects of the West Indies, and the languages of the Guinea Coast. The vowel scale is exactly the same as in the Jamaican Creole dialect; several of the peculiar phrases of everyday life are found literally translated into English in Jamaica (Heath, a: 51).

173 We are also indebted to Mr. Heath for a Miskito migration legend which is said to have been given out as authentic by Eduardo Pereira,

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a descendant of the Miskito royal family.[8] (Heath, a: 49; Lehmann, b: 715–716; Joyce: 8–9.) The present writer has, however, little faith in its exactitude, and such is also the opinion of the various older Indians he consulted about it.[9]

In former days the Miskito were called Kiribi [10] and lived on the narrow isthmus between Lake Nicaragua and the Pacific Ocean, a territory which the Nicarao occupied at the arrival of the Spaniards.

Late in the tenth century this country was invaded by a tribe of immigrants from the north (probably the Nicarao) and eventually, after a long struggle, the Miskito were compelled to leave their old home and retreat to the eastern shore of Lake Nicaragua. Here they resided for nearly a century, but finally, again under foreign pressure, this time exercised probably by the Sumu or Matagalpa, they migrated to the Atlantic shore. Believing that they had now found a safe home, they gave themselves the name of *Dis-kituna-nani*, "they who can not be dislodged," which was corrupted into Miskito.

At the time of their migration to the Atlantic their leader was a sort of culture hero, named *Wakna*, whose son *Lakyatara* "Evening Star" conquered the whole coast from Honduras to Costa Rica. While Wakna was still alive disputes arose among the Miskito chiefs. A rebellion, headed by *Wialandia*,[11] was defeated; its leader was imprisoned, and 300 of his partisans were executed.

PHYSIQUE: PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

GENERAL.—The Sumu differ naturally in many points in physique from the Negro-mixed Miskito, but there are also certain slight dissimilarities between them and the pure Miskito or *Tāwira*. The latter are, as a rule, well built and of middle height, whereas the Sumu are rather thickset and low in stature. According to Schultz (67) the Sumu from Rio Prinsapolca measure from 1.427 m. to 1.68 m. with 1.5816 m. as an average.[12]

Both tribes are sturdy, heavy muscled, proportionally broad shouldered, and have deep chests. The arms are well developed in comparison to the legs. As both of these tribes are essentially canoe men, passing most of their time in a cramped position in small boats, they lack the well-developed leg muscles of the "civilized" Indians of the interior.

COLOR.—The Sumu are of fairer complexion than all the other Indian tribes of this part of Central America, not excluding the so-called pure Miskito or Tāwira.

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[8] The father of Mr. Pereira was a Mexican; his mother was the daughter of a Scotchman named Haly and an Indian woman of the Miskito royal family.

[9] Pereira, besides, denies having given out this version, and claims to be in possession of the correct account.

[10] This name has an alluring similarity to Corobici, under which name the early Spanish historians of Central America mention an Indian tribe which lived formerly in northwestern Costa Rica to the south of Lake Nicaragua.

[11] Compare wasle "enemy" in the Miskito language.

[12] The anthropological measurements by Schultz, quoted in this study, were taken on 13 Sumu from Rio Prinsapolca and 25 Rama from Rama Key, all males.

2: Kirchhoff E-4 (no date) 1948
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MYTHOLOGY

The literature, reported mainly from the *Mosquito* and *Sumo*, includes the many songs. An extensive folklore includes stories of the chase, of fishing, and of war. Quasi-historical tales speak of mysterious tribes who preceded the present inhabitants in the region. A migration legend says that the former home of the *Mosquito* and *Sumo* was on the Isthmus of Rivas. The *Sumo* version of a creation legend recounts the common origin of the *Mosquito* and *Sumo*.

LORE AND LEARNING

Rules of etiquette are elaborate even in everyday life. Time may be measured by the number of knots on a string or by pebbles placed in a gourd. The year was formerly divided into 13 months, the last of which was occasionally dropped in order to keep the months in adjustment with the seasons. The *Mosquito* and *Sumo* employ a vigesimal numerical system.

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